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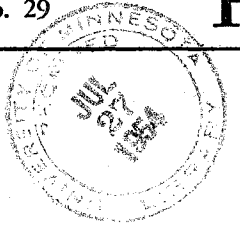

EXIT THE WHITE MAN

By GARET GARRETT

WHAT CONFOUNDS AMERICAN POLICY in the East is the fact that one cannot speak the truth about Asia without giving aid and comfort to the enemy. It lies coiled in the jungle like a monstrous cobra. Shall we deal with it here by decision or wait until we come face to face with it there in mortal combat?

The truth is that the white man is defeated in Asia. His supremacy can no longer be upheld there by force. Gone are the days when a small white garrison could hold millions of colored people in subjection by the civilized cannibalism of recruiting native armies to kill their own kind, and punish mutiny with grisly death.

The defeating principle is not Communism, as we are supposed to believe. It is a racial hatred that runs deep in the Asian blood. The object of that hatred is the white man. The Communists only exploit it.

If it is difficult for us to see Asians as they see themselves, so it seems impossible for the Western man to see himself as the Asians see him. We forget how terribly the soul of Asia is scarred by centuries of Western aggression, oppression, racial contempt and ruthless imperialism. True, Americans have been, at least until recently, the least offending of the aggressors, the least contemptuous of Asiatic culture. Yet even Americans seem to forget that the Asians can read, in spite of having done more than any other people to educate them in the modern manner, having had thousands of them in our schools.

For example, they must have read General MacArthur's "fade away" speech to a joint session of Congress on his return from the East. It is even possible that they read it more attentively than the Americans. Very few Americans at any rate have ever remarked the startling discrepancy between, in the first part of the speech, his very sympathetic representation of the new Asia and its aspirations, and then, in the middle part of the speech, his sudden lapse into the old way of Western thinking, which is that Western man must dominate Asia by force. In the first part of the speech he said:

"Long exploited by the so-called colonial powers, with little opportunity to achieve any degree of social justice, individual dignity or a higher standard of life such as guided our own noble administration of the Philippines, the peoples of Asia found their oppor-

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tunity in the war just past to throw off the shackles of colonialism and now see the dawn of new opportunity, and heretofore unfelt dignity and the self-respect of political freedom. This is the direction of Asian progress and it may not be stopped. In this situation it becomes vital that our own country orient its policies in consonance with this basic evolutionary condition, rather than pursue a course blind to the reality that the colonial era is now past and the Asian peoples covet the right to shape their own free destiny. What they seek now is friendly guidance, understanding and support, not imperious direction; the dignity of equality and not the shame of subjugation."

From that he went on to discuss how America's strategic frontier has changed as a result of World War II. Before that the Pacific had been a potential area of advance for any predatory Asiatic force moving against the West. All of that was changed by our Pacific victory. Quote: "Our strategic frontier then shifted to embrace the entire Pacific Ocean, which became a vast moat to protect us as long as we hold it. Indeed it acts as a protective shield for all of the Americas and all free lands of the Pacific Ocean area. We control it to the shores of Asia, by a chain of islands extending in an arc from the Aleutians to the Marianas, held by us and our free allies. From this island chain we can dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore — with sea and air power, every port as I said, from Vladivostok to Singapore."

Imagine how Americans would feel if any great power, friendly or hostile, should propose to dominate every American port by sea and air. Could we live amicably with that power? Would we not fight her if we were strong enough? And if that power should tell us that we might expect from her guidance, understanding and support— should we not hate her all the more?

Those who reject this analogy must do so on the ground that the pride of Asia is inferior to American pride. That is not so. Only her power is inferior — and not so inferior on her own ground.

The only war this country ever failed to win was on the terrain of Korea against an enemy that was willing to fight tanks with bare hands. Men do not fight like that for Marxian ideology or scientific socialism. Only men who feel fanatical hatred will fight like that. Whom did they hate? The white man — not the South Koreans really except as they represented collaboration with the West. Later they got tanks and used them very well. Where did the tanks come from? From Russia. Where did Russia get them? From the West — not the actual tanks but the art of making tanks — a reminder of Spengler's thesis in his "Treason of Technics." It was fatal he said for the

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West to impart its technical knowledge to the East. Ultimately the colored races would turn the white man's weapons against him. And so it has happened.

What were we fighting for in Korea? To uphold the white man's prestige in the East? Oh, certainly not. But to stop the spread of Communism, for if it spread much further the light of Western civilization would go out all over Asia.

And what was it in Indo-China? Somewhat more complex there. Indo-China had long been a French colony and one of the very bad examples of European imperialism in Asia. The war began as an uprising of native nationalists against French rule and was entirely so regarded for nearly seven years, until the French were in serious trouble and desperately needed American aid. Then suddenly the Communist feature became very clear. "What started as a civil war," said the American Secretary of State, "has now been taken over by international Communism for its own purposes."

Then we began to take it over too, sending planes and guns and munitions and technicians, just as the Chinese Communists were doing, except that the Chinese Communists got paid for their help and ours was free, until the American taxpayer was standing two-thirds of the entire cost of the war in Indo-China between the French Empire and her rebellious subjects.

Now the government talks of sending American troops to Indo-China, and of going alone if we cannot organize a collective security system in the Pacific, like the NATO in Europe, knowing beforehand that it may turn out to be another Korean experience, or worse.

What we say to the nationalist rebels in Indo-China and to all the wavering non-Communist nations of the Southeast Pacific is that we want to save them for the free world; we want to save them from the tyranny of Communism, which would be worse than any tyranny they ever knew. If they understand what we are saying, they don't believe it. All they can see is that the weight of America is on the side of the two most hated colonial powers in Asia, namely, Great Britain and France.

What we were telling ourselves was that the defense of Indo-China against the Chinese Communists was vital to the security of the United States. The President said that if Indo-China fell all the surrounding still non-Communist nations would go down like a row of dominoes. Then the Communists would have all of Southeast Asia and what would happen to Formosa, Japan and the Philippines, and what should we do for raw rubber and tin?

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Then in the first week of May it became necessary for the disc jockey at the State Department to change the platters on American policy in an abrupt manner. Three sad things had happened.

In Indo-China the French suffered the worst defeat in eight years of war. That was the fall of Dien Bien Phu. Secondly, news of this event wrecked a peace conference at which the Asians, facing the United States, Great Britain and France, refused to consider a truce or even a cease-fire interlude except on terms that would mean complete surrender of the West. The Russians were there too. Their position was that the Asians were well able to take care of themselves, in conference or in battle. Thirdly, John Foster Dulles, American Secretary of State, was unable to engage either Great Britain or France in a collective security system for Southeast Asia. That is what he went to Europe to get and he came home without it. The American government had been bluffing.

The day after his return from Geneva, Mr. Dulles called a news conference at which he blurred out Mr. Eisenhower's image of falling dominoes and opined that the free world could survive without Indo-China if it had to; also that it would be possible to shore up the other dominoes if only his collective security system could be retrieved from the European wastebasket. Merely, the free world's defense line would be pushed over to where the still non-Communist nations begin. Then everything else as before.

No amount or kind of American propaganda can overcome the slogan: Asia for the Asians. From the Asian point of view the only difference between Asia for the Asians and America for the Americans is that the Americans have the power to make it stick.

Communism holds out to the Asians three things, namely:

(1) the sweet taste of revenge;

(2) nationalistic independence — this falsely, no doubt, and

(3) expulsion of the white man from Asia.

We offer them freedom within the framework of what we call the free Western world. They have a passion to be free, but what they want to be free of is the will of Western man.

General MacArthur says: "World ideologies play little part in Asian thinking and are little understood."

Garet Garrett, formerly of *The Saturday Evening Post,* is the author of numerous books, among them the following: *A Time Was Born, The Revolution Was, The Peoples Pottage.* A new volume from his pen is announced for early publication by Henry Regnery Company. His last article for HUMAN EVENTS was "Read Your Paper Backward" June 23, 1954.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* *Contributing Editors:* FRANK CHODOROV, WILLIS J. BALLINGER

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Curtain: With the resignation of Roy Cohn, and the shakedown in the staff of the investigations committee, the Army-McCarthy affair draws to a close. Due to an alleged Republican, Senator Potter, who voted with the Democrats, a "house cleaning" has resulted. The Communists and their allies, the "liberals," have won a notable battle. But the basic conflicts underlying the whole affair cannot die.

Politically, it stands as a victory for the Dewey machine (which, we understand, has its tentacles as far west as Indiana and Nebraska). This apparatus decided to make war on McCarthy at the famous secret conference of January 21 — attended by Lodge, Sherman Adams, Hagerty and Rogers. Why was the decision made at that particular time? Because McCarthy was about to unbare a scandal in the Army Department connected with such affairs as the honorable discharge of "Fifth Amendment" Peress. Why McCarthy? Because he loomed as a spearhead of the midwestern "Taft" wing of the Republican party, which Dewey aspires to destroy completely. Why did they deem this a necessary job? To protect the Truman holdover bureaucracy which has its links with New York, Dewey's territory.

The red trail always winds back to New York City, part of which the Dewey machine must hold to keep power in the state. Dewey must — or thinks he must — cater to the left-of-center elements in the metropolis. Hence the extraordinary appeasement of the left, of — indeed — the Communists, the fulcrum of the left. This is one of the most ominous and sinister aspects of the affair. Of course, this strategy is not necessary to beat the Democrats. Ike won New York state over the solid opposition of these left elements, by the support of American constructive elements in the state. But Dewey thinks he knows better.

This is one thought-provoking lesson of the affair and it runs deep in the political roots of both parties. This is why the Taft following craves a leader, cries for Bricker to stand up and fight. This is why, in the Democratic party, Governor Lausche received the news spotlight last week — a Democratic politician with an appeal to many conservatives. The problem of New York — that is the problem which both sound Democrats and Republicans must face if the republic is to survive.

On the constitutional plane, the affair has equally unhappy implications. The Department of the Army (now controlled by holdovers of previous administrations, although presided over by an amiable but inexperienced Rotarian) has no constitutional status. It is the creation of the Legislative branch of the government. According to the Constitution, it is not only the right but the duty of the Legislative branch to investigate all departments of the Executive branch, including the Department of the Army. When Sen. McCarthy sought to uncover the "sensitive spot" in the Army Department, all the political apparatus that runs the Eastern political power, plus the Truman holdovers in the Department of the Army, went into action. The Legislative branch surrendered its constitutional position by holding the Army hearings and has ended up — as a result of the incredible Potter — by taking an abject posture before its own creature, the Department of the Army. This is the present crack in the "checks and balances," as ominous as other surrenders of the Legislature to the Roosevelt and Truman Executive assaults on the Constitution.

Army-McCarthy Hearings: What is grass roots sentiment on the merits of the recent Army-McCarthy hearings? A straw in the wind is a "straw poll" conducted by the *Watertown Daily Times,* an important paper in northern New York. This paper is avowedly anti-McCarthy and regularly features such

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syndicated anti-McCarthy columnists as the Alsops and Marquis Childs. The close of the poll was reported in the issue of July 10 under the headlines "McCarthy Easy Winner in Poll." It says:

"Of those participating in the poll, 58.1 per cent felt that McCarthy had the better case in his dispute with the Army, while only 41.9 per cent subscribed to the Army view." On a question as to the readers' opinion of the Wisconsin figure before and after the poll, the results were similarly favorable to McCarthy. "It appears clear," says the paper, "that those who were undecided before the hearings became, in the main, adherents of the Senator after watching, hearing or reading about the hearings." The *Times* mournfully concludes, in an editorial on the outcome, that "McCarthy sentiment in these Northern counties is greater than some of us thought was the case."

A reaction in another up-state New York area is interesting. Saugerties is a small industrial town in the mid-Hudson region. Editorially, the Saugerties *Daily Post* had this to say on June 14th: "A majority of the newspapers in the country, it appears, are out to give McCarthy the 'business' and don't seem to mind the fact that the public has a ringside seat for the maneuver. Recently we watched one of the sessions on television. The next morning, we read an account of the same session in one of the metropolitan newspapers. We marvelled at the audacity of the reporter and his paper in printing such a falsified account, so slanted that even a child could see the object. . . . Eventually, these journalistic crooks will do McCarthy more good than harm." Perhaps the Saugerties writer offers an instructive lesson to his colleague on the Watertown *Times*.

The Press: Certainly, as the above item suggests, the press with some exceptions scarcely emerged from the Great Affair with honor. Anent this, there's much talk in New York City (according to our correspondents) about the recent New York *World-Telegram* (Scripps-Howard paper) series of articles blasting McCarthy. But one member of the Scripps family rises to protest. Mrs. William Loeb, Jr., of Manchester, N. H., granddaughter of the great man who founded the outfit, sent a sizzling wire to her brother, Charles E. Scripps, Chairman of the chain, and Jack Howard, President of the papers, asserting that the articles on McCarthy were "rotten, biased journalism which would make my grandfather, E. W. Scripps, who above all stood for integrity and fair play in the handling of news, turn in his grave in disgust and shame."

In New York, according to our advices from the advertising and publishing world, there is an opinion that "business office policy" dictated the course of these articles on McCarthy, that the *World-Telegram* seeks to "cut in" on the impressive gains made in recent years by one of its competitors in the evening field, the *New York Post*. The latter has done very well by cultivating the large left-of-center audience in New York City. Audit Bureau of Circulation figures are very interesting. The *Post's* statement of circulation for the 1st quarter of 1954 shows a gain of 29,809 daily over the same quarter in 1951, whereas the *World-Telegram* shows a loss in the same period as compared with the 1951 figure of 42,505. Thus, these circles in New York draw the conclusion that the Scripps paper is seeking to capture some of these left-of-center readers at the expense of the *Post*.

Case of Case: The movement in New Jersey to supplant Clifford Case as GOP Senatorial nominee mounts, as Republicans (and not only in that state) in increasing numbers realize that such "me-too" candidates as Case are a liability. Many New Jersey Republicans want to substitute a "unity" candidate for Case, in order to win this seat in November.

"Does not the stupid attack of your Senatorial candidate upon Senator McCarthy, his playing footsie with the left wing Americans for Democratic Action finally convince you that we need a new candidate — but fast — if we are to have any hope of winning this Senate seat in November?" asked Mr. James P. Selvage, leader of the anti-Case movement, in a letter to the state GOP Chairman.

Selvage, long prominent both in New Jersey and national Republican politics, added: "Even supposing only 10 per cent of the voters are favorable to McCarthy, a wary candidate does not slap those

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voters in the face. Will Case now repudiate the Americans for Democratic Action or does he welcome this kind of radical extremist support?" Selvage then went on to remind the State Chairman that Case urged two years ago " that Senator Taft no longer be tolerated in the party," and asked how Case can now demand party loyalty for his own candidacy.

Selvage cited some of Case's voting record when he was in the House of Representatives. He voted: "Against making the Un-American Activities Committee a permanent committee to fight Communism, one of 34 out of 172 Republicans voting; he voted against citing the notorious Corliss Lamont for contempt, one of 19 out of 166 Republicans voting; he voted to recommit (and thus kill) the Federal Employees Loyalty Bill, one of 33 out of 244 Republicans voting; he voted to uphold Truman's veto of a bill to provide stricter screening of subversives and security risks in government, one of 23 out of 193 Republicans voting." Thus — "Case voted on anti-Communist issues with a rag-tag minority of Republicans."

Not Merely Gossip: As we predicted (March 17 and June 2) Governor Frank Lausche of Ohio is looming as a contender for the Democratic Presidential candidacy in 1956, so report a number of correspondents covering the meeting of state governors at Bolton's Landing, N. Y., last week. But for those who rate integrity, vision and courage above political adeptness, Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah stole the show. He denounced the federal income tax as "socialistic" and said he would demand its repeal. The Governor of Wyoming, C. J. Rogers, was the only other executive to agree publicly with Lee. (The Utah Governor wrote the introduction to our Contributing Editor, Frank Chodorov's book, *The Income Tax: Root of all Evil.*)

● Watch for a speech before the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 2 by Senator Knowland, in which — it is forecasted — the California man will reiterate his warning that we should get out of the UN if that body admits Red China. In the Senate Office Building, boys are dragging great bags of mail into Knowland's office filled with letters (from all over the country) which — it is reported — are unanimously favorable to the Majority Leader's famous stand. One result has been that Knowland is being talked about for '56, supplanting Vice-President Nixon, his fellow Californian.

More Geneva Gloom: In addition to American political failure at Geneva, labor experts are pointing out a little noticed but disastrous defeat for the U.S. in the labor field. Observers say that what happened to labor there is only another clear warning of the danger to us of the United Nations and its affiliated organizations.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) is the arm of the UN on labor matters. In recent years, the ILO has become a hotbed of international radicalism. ILO has prepared literally scores of treaties designed to destroy the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and establish in America a socialist society run by the nation's socialist labor bosses. But what happened at Geneva, say observers, pushes this course one step further.

The UN has a rule which provides for automatic membership in the ILO for any UN member that desires it. This year Russia decided to invade the ILO. Russia has some 40,000,000 workers in bogus trade unions — unions under the iron heel of the Kremlin. The U.S. vigorously opposed admission of Russian stooge unions to the ILO but was defeated decisively in the voting of ILO delegates. ILO was supposed to represent only free trade unions — but now Russian unions have moved in and will henceforth play a large role in its policies. So-called allies of the U.S. and the free world either ardently championed the admission of the Red unions to ILO, or abstained from voting.

Back of the vote in the ILO lies a weird and startling tale of Russian labor intrigue in the United States. The CIO in America was actually conceived and secretly launched by agents of the Kremlin. its success was assured by the support of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Roosevelt may not have known

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what he was doing but the fact remains that for a time at least the CIO was controlled by the American Communist party, representatives of the Russian Comintern and the chargé d'affaires of the Russian Embassy in Washington, Constantine Oumansky. While under Moscow control, the CIO joined the World Federation of Trade Unions (also dominated by Moscow)—and *with the blessings of the State Department.*

Then a revolt is supposed to have occurred inside the CIO culminating in the expulsion of a number of unions for being Red-controlled. CIO also got out of the World Federation of Trade Unions and with the AF of L joined the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions theoretically opposed to having anything to do with Red unions. But with the admission of Russian trade unions to the ILO, free trade unions and the stooge unions of the Kremlin are once more under a common roof. Observers who know what is happening say it is time to get the ILO off the payroll of American taxpayers by a U.S. withdrawal from this labor arm of the UN.

The Bridges-Byrd Amendment: This month Senators Bridges and Byrd have joined in introducing a constitutional amendment which would require annual balancing of the Federal budget. Deficit spending in peacetime would be prohibited. Senator Byrd, who has been fighting unessential expenditures for years, points out that in only four of the past 25 years have revenues exceeded expenditures. In those 25 years the Congress has appropriated $1,200,000,000,000 and added a quarter of a trillion dollars to the public debt, now at an all-time high.

Senator Bridges points to the close connection between this history and the halved purchasing power of our dollar. The way we are going, he says, in another 40 years we shall have a 12½¢ dollar. Perhaps the Senator is optimistic.

There is, of course, no chance that the Congress will do anything about the Bridges-Byrd amendment this session; and in fact the authors state they expect no action now. Perhaps they don't really expect, even in coming sessions, the adoption of their proposal, but simply wish to point up the problem. A constitutional provision for sound finance ought not to be necessary. Congress has the power always to make spending and revenues balance.

But ours is a government of pressure groups, which in recent decades have learned that in union — and also unions — there is strength. The farmer, the veteran, the worker, the businessman, the banker, the miner, the exporter and all the others regard government subsidy as their right. And too many have come to regard Keynesian "compensatory finance" as sound economics — under which philosophy, the unbalanced budget is deemed the major weapon against depression. Those of this school will not commit the nation to balancing expenditures with taxes.

Yet, as Sen. Bridges notes, inflationary borrowing is in itself a tax; and "compensatory spending" works on a one-way street. That street apparently has no speed limit.

Dinner for Cohn: A testimonial dinner, one which political observers will be watching carefully for strength of McCarthy sentiment, will be staged July 28 for Roy Cohn, former chief counsel to the U.S. Senate Investigating Committee.

Senator McCarthy will be chief speaker at the dinner to be held at New York's Astor Hotel, according to Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, head of the Joint Committee Against Communism, of 220 West 42nd St., which is staging the affair.

Says Rabbi Schultz: "Roy Cohn captured the affections of the American people during the late hearings. He's still being attacked, and for only one reason — that he is an effective anti-Communist. The people will show him what they think of him at this dinner."

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